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"THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA."

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY

HONORABLE HENRY B. F. MACFARLAND,

President of the Board of Commissioners
of the District of Columbia,

ON

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA DAY,

SEPTEMBER THIRD, NINETEEN HUNDRED AND ONE,

AT THE

PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION,
BUFFALO, N. Y.

Reprinted from the Congressional Record of April 10, 1906.

WASHINGTON.
1906.

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ADDRESS

OF

HON. HENRY B. F. MACFARLAND.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 16953) making appropriations for the service of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907, and for other purposes—

Mr. SIMS said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: In some remarks I made yesterday on a bill before the House pertaining to the District of Columbia I quoted what I then had before me from an address delivered by the Hon. Henry B. F. Macfarland before the Buffalo Exposition and also a quotation from an article in Everybody's Magazine. The quotation that I gave was one that I took from a publication that I had, and I gave it in full as far as I had it, but it was not all that he said on the subject, and he has called my attention to the fact that the partial quotation was not entirely just to him. He has sent me his address in full before the Buffalo Exposition, and I include same as part of my remarks. It is a splendid presentation of the Commissioner's view of the present form of the government of the District of Columbia, and I ask every Member of the House to read same carefully.

Mr. Chairman, it was not my intention to be understood as criticising the Commissioners. I said once before in the House when discussing the present form of government that if I was asked to name three gentlemen for Commissioners I should name the three gentlemen who now hold those positions. My complaint is with the form of government and not with the Commissioners. The difficulties I complain of are inherent, and not the result of the present administration. I am unconditionally for home rule for the District of Columbia, and under the present form of government it can not be had; therefore I

am in favor of such a change as will give the people of this District complete control of local municipal affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to print in the RECORD the speech which he indicates. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The speech is as follows:

"THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA."

The capital of the United States of America brings greeting to-day to the Pan-American Exposition of the first year of the twentieth century. The District of Columbia, home of the United States Government, seated in the city planned by Washington, and which bears his name, offers its congratulations to the managers of this exposition, and to the men and women of Buffalo who made it possible, upon the success which they have achieved. Congratulations have come, or will come, from every State in the Union, from every one of our sister republics, and from the Dominion of Canada, but none, we flatter ourselves, can be more significant than those which come from the official heart of the United States of America, where the feelings of all the people of our Union are gathered up and expressed together. The District of Columbia is highly honored in having this day set apart by the exposition for its benefit, but it can make some return in delivering to the exposition the essence of the good will and felicitations of our country. Indeed, as the oldest republican capital on this continent, it may, without presumption, claim the honor to speak at least for all its younger relatives, the capitals of the republics south of us, including the youngest republic of this hemisphere, Cuba, which comes into independence with the opening of the twentieth century. George Washington was the example of the heroes who liberated and founded those republics, and they naturally looked, and looked not in vain, to the capital which he founded for that sympathy and support which they could not hope for in any other capital the great world round. In the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, they found what they had a right to expect—recognition and consideration, without condescension or intimidation, courtesy as disinterested as is ever found among men. They misread history who see in the dealings of the United States of America with the other republics of this hemisphere anything inconsistent with the character of the elder brother. From the time that they established their independence the earlier republics had the friendship of the earliest republic, and it has been almost always generously shown in considerate ways.

It was in the District of Columbia that John Quincy Adams, following out George Washington's thought, formulated the principle which President Monroe announced, and to which his name was given. It has never been invoked except for the benefit of this continent, and it will never be employed for the wanton injury of any power beyond the seas, much less to the damage of any country between the Atlantic and Pacific. It is a doctrine of peace and not of war, except as war may sometimes be necessary to gain peace and it can never be rightfully used except on this basis. To keep the peace of this continent has always been a desire of our country.

It was in the District of Columbia that John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay, in eloquent language, first set forth the noble principles of

the relations which the United States desired with the new-born republics, in their efforts to secure representation of the United States at the first Congress of American Republics at Panama—efforts which, though injured by partisan opposition, were crowned with success, although it came too late to be of practical importance. It was in the District of Columbia that, after the lapse of more than half a century, another Congress of American Republics, greater than that of Panama, as the republics themselves had become greater, met, upon the invitation of the United States of America, and drew together the States of North and South America in closer ties than they had ever known before. It was at the opening of that congress, the precursor of this exposition and of the congress which is about to meet in the City of Mexico, that Secretary Blaine expressed the deep thought of the American people when he said:

"We believe that hearty cooperation, based on hearty confidence, will save all American states from the burdens and evils which have long and cruelly afflicted the older nations of the world.

"We believe that a spirit of justice, of common and equal interest between the American states, will leave no room for an artificial balance of power like unto that which has led to wars abroad and drenched Europe in blood.

"We believe that friendship, avowed with candor and maintained with good faith, will remove from American states the necessity of guarding boundary lines between themselves with fortifications and milltary force.

"We believe that standing armies, beyond those which are needful for public order and the safety of internal administration, should be unknown on both American continents.

"We believe that friendship and not force, the spirit of just law and not the violence of the mob, should be the recognized rule of administration between American nations and in American nations."

Arbitration as a means of preventing war has been prominent in the gospel of our country, and it was with peculiar satisfaction that we heard Secretary Blaine say, in closing the Pan-American Congress of 1889, in Washington:

"If, in this closing hour, the conference had but one deed to celebrate, we should dare call the world's attention to the deliberate, confident, solemn dedication of two great continents to peace and to the prosperity which has peace for its foundation. We hold up this new Magna Charta which abolishes war and substitutes arbitration between the American republics as the first and great fruit of the International American Conference. That noblest of Americans, the aged poet and philanthropist, Whittier, is the first to send his salutation and his benediction, declaring:

"'If, in the spirit of peace, the American conference agrees upon a rule of arbitration which shall make war in this hemisphere wellnigh impossible, its sessions will prove one of the most important events in the history of the world.'"

The District of Columbia has been the scene of many other efforts and negotiations having the same objects as the Pan-American Congress of 1889.

It has also been the scene of many efforts and negotiations, in part successful, intended to secure closer and more cordial relations between the United States and our great neighbor on the north, who must be included, as here, in any real Pan-American project. In spite of all that selfish politicians, prompted by no less selfish business men, have done to keep the United States and the Dominion of Canada

apart, they have inevitably, under natural laws that can not be affected by treaties or enactments, been brought closer together in personal and commercial intercourse, which now makes the very thought of war between them seem, even here, near the battle grounds of the war of 1812, incredible if not impossible. It was the treaty of Washington, preeminently entitled to that name, which, providing for the greatest arbitration of history between two of the greatest nations of history, proclaimed the international principles of the United States and removed the last real danger of war with Great Britain which we shall ever see.

Peace on earth among men of good will, peace with honor, though not peace at any price—this is and has always been the choice of the American people, who do not love war for war's sake, and who do not thirst for its conquests or its glories. That brotherhood of men which is only possible because of the fatherhood of God is dear to them. That friendliness for all other nations, without entangling alliances with any of them, which George Washington preached, has been the heart of the people's desire ever since, even when the war spirit rose high or when actual war was on. Nothing is further from the truth than any representation of the United States as an Uncle Sam going around with a chip on his shoulder, making faces at foreigners and breathing out threatenings against them. On the contrary, the disposition of the United States is to endure patiently as long as possible whatever wrongs may be put upon it, and to seek a remedy by peaceful means. And it is less and less disposed to brag and bluster as it attains greater power and therefore greater self-respect. This very exposition, like those which have preceded it, manifests the spirit of the American people, devoted to the competitions of peace. Proud of its Army and Navy, proud of their achievements and those of the citizen soldiery supplementing the regular forces, it looks upon them as a means of defense and not of offense, and for the exceptional emergencies and not the ordinary life of the nation.

Nowhere is the national or the international feeling of the United States of America so strong or so clearly expressed as in the District of Columbia, where the representatives and the citizens of all the States and Territories meet and contribute to the population; where the National Government carries on its operations; where the President, through the Secretary of State, conducts the negotiations respecting its foreign relations with the ambassadors and ministers of all the other governments who are permanently resident in Washington. The very purpose of the founders of the District of Columbia was to make it national, and even cosmopolitan—removed from local and provincial feelings and influences—and its development has more and more gratified their desire.

It will be remembered that the far-seeing genius of George Washington first perceived the necessity for such a capital. He had seen the Revolutionary capital and that of the Confederation which followed the Revolution moving about from place to place in ephemeral and undignified fashion; he had seen the Congress of the Confederation flee from its place in Philadelphia in 1783 before the onslaught of a mob of the ill-requited soldiers of the Revolution. He had determined then that the people of the United States needed not only a more perfect union, but a more perfect capital in a Federal district, which would give it security and sanctity it could not have in any place temporarily loaned by one of the States. Other men began to see it, too. It was felt that the dignity as well as the safety and therefore the perpetuity of the National Government that was to come into being with

the new Constitution demanded that it should have a seat of its own, under it own authority, and where it could not be encroached upon by any disturbing influences. Accordingly, in the Constitution of 1789 provision was made for a Federal district 10 miles square, over which Congress should have exclusive jurisdiction. Then came the consideration in Congress of the important question of where the Federal district should be placed. Naturally, different sections and different States desired it. It was seen that it could not be given to New England or to the extreme South, but every State in between considered itself eligible, and most of them tried to get it, offering in some cases even their State capitals for the national use. The contest in Congress over the selection of a place became excited and at times so bitter that some felt that the break-up of the Union, which all feared as possible before its thin ties could be made unbreakable, might come over the placing of the Federal district. Congress made several tentative selections and one, in Pennsylvania, that was apparently definitive, but all were reconsidered, and it seemed as though the controversy might go on indefinitely when the famous compromise was reached by which the South got the Federal district, in consideration of its acquiescence in the desire of the North for the assumption by the nation of the Revolutionary debts of the States. It was as natural as it was admirable that the choice of the precise location for the Federal district on the Potomac River, for 100 miles from Williamsport southward, was left to George Washington, who knew the whole region thoroughly and was more interested in the success of the plan than any other man, for he had not only the eye of the surveyor but the eye of the seer, and selected a site only with regard to its beauty, its convenience, and its adaptability, but to the future of the nation. It was well that he was also intrusted with the preparation of the Federal city within the Federal district, for he laid it out, with the assistance of Thomas Jefferson, the leader of the other school of statesmen, and of the surveyors, L'Enfant and Ellicott, with the eye of faith which saw the United States of to-day as no other man of his time began to see it.

It is hard to realize now that no one saw then as Washington did the United States of a century later, bound together in a Union that can not be broken, a mighty nation, spread not only across the continent but across the seas, and whose future greatness no man can limit. Washington thought with breadth and depth that distinguished him from the other fathers of this Republic, and nowhere does this appear more clearly than on the map of the Federal city, as Washington called it, although inevitably it was called by his name by everyone else, and finally by Congress. As we look at that plan, whose scope and detail are now admired by the greatest experts as the best possible for the purpose, we see Washington's confidence in the future of the nation which he had brought into the world. It is difficult for us to realize how puny that nation appeared to foreigners; how weak and unpromising to many of its own citizens; so that the magnificent project of Washington for the Federal city seemed to them, alike in its unparalleled grandeur and symmetry, a thing for ridicule. The serene Washington, who faced laughter as he faced cannon, did not change his project, which is still the working plan for the city of Washington to this day. Washington not only selected the site of the Federal district and planned the Federal city, but he also directed the arrangements under which Maryland and Virginia gave to the United States the jurisdiction over the territory for the District of Columbia, as Congress called the Federal dis-

trict in memory of Columbus, and personally conducted the negotiations with the nineteen owners of the land, mostly cut up into farms, on which the city of Washington was to be built. He included on the Maryland side of the Potomac, in the larger portion of the District, 69 out of the 100 square miles, the city of Georgetown, founded by Scotch and English in 1751, and on the Virginia side of the Potomac his own home town of Alexandria, both towns then ambitious and hopeful of commercial greatness, which Washington himself sought to bring to them by the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, designed to connect the East with the country beyond the mountains, then called the West. But the Federal city he placed on the map between Rock Creek, the eastern boundary of Georgetown, on the west, and the Anacostia River on the east, with the Potomac as the southern boundary. The National Government was poor as well as weak. It could not afford to buy out the original proprietors. It could not afford to put up the necessary buildings for its own use. Therefore, in the decade from 1790 to 1800, given to Washington for the preparation of the national capital, he had to arrange with the owners to make them stockholders, in a sense, in the national city, by securing their donations of more than half of the land to the National Government, in consideration of the enhanced value which would accrue to the land which they kept. Then, with ample reservations of land for avenues, streets, and parks, some of the rest was sold on the Government account as building lots to raise funds for buildings in connection with appropriations of money made by Maryland and Virginia. Washington, who in this formative period had to overcome many difficulties, at last, just before his untimely death in 1799, saw his work so well done that it could not be undone, and derived from it a pleasure which nothing else except his successes in the Revolution and in the adoption of the Constitution had yielded to him.

But although the Federal district had been established and the Federal city had been laid out on paper, the general appearance of the farms that stretched from the low hills in the north of the District down to the fishing hamlets on the shore of the Potomac, showed very little change when, in 1800, the National Government slowly removed from Philadelphia to Washington. The Executive Mansion, which was of the same size, but not of the same color as to-day, and the old Capitol building, one-third the size of that of to-day, were the only important new structures, although buildings for the small Executive Departments of that time had been constructed and a number of dwelling houses, with a few small hotels and boarding houses. Pennsylvania avenue was rather plainly marked as a road between the Capitol and the Executive Mansion, and a few other avenues and streets in the southern and central portion of the young city were traced through the groves and pastures in a similar way.

The population of Washington in the year 1800, when the National Government had become established in it, was less than 4,000, Georgetown having less than 3,000, Alexandria nearly 5,000, while there were nearly 3,000 in the rest of the District. The total population of the District was 14,093, including 2,072 slaves.

The National Government was a small body of men, and its business was comparatively small in amount. The nation itself was felt to be still an experiment, and it was not regarded as certain that there would continue to be a National Government or a national capital. Chief Justice Marshall, however, took his seat on the Supreme Bench in February, 1801, and began, in that masterly series of decisions,

to draw out of the new Constitution the powers for a mighty National Government, which could never be broken except by revolution. While that great statesman in the robes of a jurist was thus carrying George Washington's ideas into practical and permanent effect, the National Government continued to be so poor that it was not able to build up and improve the Federal city as Washington had intended. And even as the nation grew in wealth and power, and larger measures of both came to the National Government, it continued to leave the improvement of the city of Washington, and all the rest of the District of Columbia, practically to the people who lived in it. For seventy years Congress did not give the District of Columbia even a form of government, although Washington was given what Georgetown and Alexandria had of municipal government by mayor and councils. In that time Congress spent $90,000,000 in constructing buildings and other conveniences for the business of the Government in the District of Columbia, but, with what seems like neglect of the interests of the capital, it left the burden of general improvements and the maintenance of the local governments largely to the inhabitants of the District. It was not, perhaps, intentional neglect. It was undoubtedly caused at first by the comparative poverty of the National Government, and afterwards the very conditions resulting prevented that pride and interest which ought to have been taken in the national capital.

Then, too, it was not until after the civil war that it was finally settled that the national capital would not be moved from the District of Columbia. It had hardly been established there before agitation for its removal began; first, on the part of those who were dissatisfied with it as a place of residence, and, afterwards, by those who desired for other places the honor and advantage of having the national capital. As the expansion of the country, begun by Washington and Jefferson, proceeded westward over the Alleghenies and beyond the Mississippi, and it became apparent that it might go on until the Pacific was reached, the men of the West began to murmur because the national capital was on the eastern edge of the continent, and communication with it was slow and difficult. The railroad and the telegraph were removing the only substantial reason for a change, when the civil war made a change impossible by hallowing the District of Columbia with the sentiments of sacrifice and glory. It had not been improved as Washington desired. The city of Washington had not been made beautiful. It was still unkempt and neglected in its general aspects, but great armies of the best and bravest of the North and South had fought to possess it, and many thousands of them had poured out their life-blood for it. The hundreds of thousands of men who marched through it to the battlefields all around it felt a new interest in it, and those who survived and returned to their homes all over the Union communicated that interest to their relatives and friends.

In these days of travel it is hard to realize how few Americans had visited Washington before the war, and therefore how dim and shadowy the national capital seemed to the people of the country. But the national capital, like the National Government, became intensely real and intensely precious to the men and women whose dear ones went to battle for it, and after the success of the Union armies had given a new meaning to both the Government and the capital the suggestion of giving the Government a new home met only with ridicule. The greatest captain of the war, the general of the triumphant armies, shared the new interest in the old capital, for which he had probably cared very little, like most of his fellow-citizens, before the war. When General Grant became President of the United States in 1869, he came

into close official relations with the District of Columbia, and it was easy for the leader of its more progressive citizens, a remarkable man whose vigor and ability impressed General Grant, to enlist his support for an effort to carry into effect the long-neglected plans of George Washington for the District of Columbia. Fortunately for the District, its natural leader and the large majority of both Houses of Congress were of the same political party as the President of the United States, and that party, which also controlled the Supreme Court, still had the confidence of the majority of the people as the savior of the Union. This made it possible to do in a very short time remarkable work for the betterment of the District of Columbia. First of all, it was given a government. Congress, under the Constitution, had legislated for it in a haphazard way for the most part, although it had given it a judicial system at the beginning of the century and a metropolitan police system at the beginning of the civil war. But in 1871 it gave the District a territorial form of government, with a governor, appointed by the President, and a legislature and a delegate in Congress, elected by the people, who still retained the right of suffrage which they had formerly exercised in voting for the municipal officers of the cities in the District. Alexandria had been lost to the District when Virginia took back, in 1846, the strip of territory which it had donated on the south side of the Potomac, and in 1871 the cities of Washington and Georgetown gave up their municipal governments, and from that time on they have had no other government than that of the District of Columbia, so that the city of Washington, which now comprehends also the former city of Georgetown, is the only city in the world which has no government of its own.

The government of the District of Columbia, controlled by the one masterful spirit, proceeded to improve the city of Washington by opening up, grading, and paving avenues and streets all over it according to Washington's plan. The valleys were filled up with the hills. The work was done on a grand scale, and all over the city at once, so that when it had once been begun it was easier to go on and finish it than to try to undo it. Suddenly and generally the plowshare of progress was driven roughly but skillfully in all sections of the city. Naturally there was bitter and ardent protest from property owners who preferred the old conditions to the increased taxation of the new. But for the time being the new force at work was irresistible, and before it could be checked it had started the new Washington and had made it impossible to go backwards. All that the reactionary forces could do, aided by a political change in Congress and the panic of 1873, was to halt the march of improvement and change the form of government.

Although the charges of corruption and thievery, which were so freely made, were not established in the Congressional investigation that followed, and though the general results of what was done under the Territorial government were accepted as on the whole beneficial, although it took years to make some see it, the taxpayers of the District generally were satisfied by their experiences that they wanted no more of the electoral franchise under the apparently unchangeable condition of universal manhood suffrage, and therefore they induced Congress, in 1874, to provide for the government of the District without suffrage by a temporary board of three Commissioners, which was to prepare the way for a permanent government by Commissioners. At the same time Congress was brought to acknowledge for the first time its financial obligations to the District of Columbia in view of the fact that the title to more than one-half of the real estate was in the United States, and

the National Government was receiving the full benefit of all municipal services. Congress promised that, under the new government by Commissioners, it would pay half the expenses of the District, the other half to be paid by the citizens who had theretofore borne the whole burden. Congress also, in consideration of the authority it had given the Territorial government to borrow money for the extraordinary expenses of improvement, gave the guaranty of the United States for the payment of the principal and interest of the bonds issued on that account. In fulfillment of its promises, Congress, in 1878, passed the act which the Supreme Court of the United States has termed "the constitution of the District of Columbia," giving it a permanent government by three Commissioners, to be appointed by the President of the United States, who exercise all the executive power and to whom is also delegated a certain legislative authority to make regulations enforcible by penalties for the public safety, health, and comfort—a unique grant to an executive government. In the same act runs the provision for the division of the expenses of the District of Columbia half and half between the United States and the District of Columbia. Twenty-three years' experience has proved that this is the ideal form of government for the District of Columbia. This is attested by the fact that there is no probability that it will be materially changed at any time in the future. The fact that it is an exception to all other governments in the United States in that it provides for taxation without representation, and is autocratic in form, grieves some good people in the District who care more for sentiment than for substance, and grieves others who would like to take advantage of the untoward conditions which the restoration of the suffrage would inevitably produce. But the people of the District of Columbia generally believe that they have the best form of government possible for them, and if any serious attempt were made to change it, it would be overwhelmingly defeated. They know that the absence of partisan politics in the District of Columbia has made its government purely a matter of business, and that it has been carried on with absolute honesty, with conspicuous efficiency and economy, and in accordance with its official motto, "Justitia omnibus." There has been no suspicion of maladministration, of corruption, or of blackmail. The Commissioners and the other officers of the government of the District of Columbia invariably have had the confidence and support of all that is best in the community. Under the organic act of 1878, two of the Commissioners are to be residents of the District of Columbia, and the third is to be an officer of high rank in the Army Corps of Engineers, the civilians serving for three years, the engineer commissioner having no fixed term, but, as a rule, serving for a shorter period. Under the unwritten law of custom, the President always chooses the civilians from different political parties, and one of them has always been a lawyer, though the law requires only that they shall be residents of the District. Their recommendations of legislation and appropriations are the basis for the annual action of Congress, and Congress, through its committees, consults the Commissioners about all measures affecting the District, and commonly follows the advice of the Commissioners. The annual budget of the Commissioners amounts now, in round numbers, to about $9,000,000, which has to be appropriated in detail by Congress, half from the National Treasury, half from the District revenues, and all the accounts of the District, because of the national participation, are audited not only by the auditor of the District, but by the United States Treasury Department. Accounts that pass such scrutiny could not long be dishonest, even if there were dishonest men in the government of the District.

This unique government would not have been continued and would not have been succesful had it not been in fact more responsive to public opinion than any other in North or South America. Self-government of the most direct and effective character is the possession of the people of the District of Columbia. The President has always chosen as Commissioners men whose character and abilities gave them the support of their fellow-citizens, and the Commissioners and Congress have always welcomed every expression of the public will. The government of the District of Columbia is therefore admittedly the best in the United States, because it is a government by the best citizens, with partisan politics, the professional politician, and the municipal jobber absolutely eliminated. The District of Columbia desires to exhibit at the Pan-American Exposition its form of government as its best and most characteristic product, which can not be duplicated for honesty and efficiency. Under this government it is becoming the most beautiful capital in the world and has doubled its population and wealth.

In the celebration, on the 12th of last December, of the centennial anniversary of the founding of the District of Columbia the speeches at the Executive Mansion and at the Capitol showed that the District of Columbia had held its own in the progress of the nineteenth century. It had not become the "commercial emporium" of the first order for which George Washington hoped, any more than it had become the home of the national university of which he dreamed and for which he made a large bequest. Yet it has an economic and commercial development which surprises even its own inhabitants with every census, and it has room and special facilities, without endangering the peculiar advantages of Washington as a residence city, for the large expansion of manufacturing enterprises, while it has become a university center with 2,500 collegiate students, and, besides its colleges, posseses those great mines for scientific research, the Government libraries and collections with a million volumes and thousands of scientific treasures, which are now to be made more accessible than ever to the graduate student.

But the distinction of the District of Columbia lies in the fact that it is more than a commercial or a collegiate center—more, even, than a place of scientific research. It is the national capital, the home of the National Government, the official residence of the President, his Cabinet, the Supreme Court, the Congress, and the ambassadors and ministers of all the other governments of the world accredited to the United States. This is, and ought to be, and always will be, its distinctive glory. It had this at its beginning a hundred years ago, when President John Adams announced formally to Congress the transfer of the seat of government to its borders. Even then it had that fine society, which it has always had since, and that noble life, full of interest and culture, of high pursuits and great affairs. It has not the most polyglot population, but it has the most cosmopolitan interests in the United States. All the Presidents except George Washington, and all their Cabinet officers, all the Chief Justices from John Marshall down, and all their associates in the Supreme Court, all the Vice-Presidents since Jefferson, all the Senators and all the Representatives since the Fifth Congress, all the ambassadors and ministers of foreign governments since 1800, all the great officers of the Army and Navy, and many of our most eminent scientists have been residents of the District of Columbia and have contributed to its society, always distinguished for its refinement and culture, not only the honor of their presence, but the riches of their minds. More important still, the public men have done their great deeds and spoken their great words,

making in large measure the history of our country, in the District of Columbia. Simply to recall the names of men whose biographies are that history will give you a true conception of the wealth and greatness of the District of Columbia, which claims them, their speeches and their actions at their best as its own. Each of them is claimed by some State, possibly as it proudest boast, but all of them belong to the District of Columbia, where they lived out their greatness in word and in deed.

The intelligent American, visiting Washington for the first time, sees not only that it is beautiful for situation and beautiful in itself, with its splendid avenues and streets, its parks and trees, its noble buildings and handsome residences, but that it is majestic and impressive in its memories and associations. He sees it peopled with our leaders in the century whose progress this exposition celebrates. In the Executive Mansion, in the Capitol, on Pennsylvania avenue, he walks in the footprints of the greatest men we have known, and he sees at every turn reminders of their lives and their work. The Washington Monument, towering above all similar structures in the world, is a symbol not only of the great and pure founder's life, but of the life of the city which he founded, in its greatness and simplicity, in its high aspirations and in its separation from mercenary considerations. We need no Westminster Abbey while we have Washington to preserve to us that which can not be wrought into marble or bronze, the very spirit of the best that was in our statesmen and heroes, and in performing this high office it rises in simple grandeur above the marts of the money makers and the gatherings of the factories.

From the windows of the Washington Monument, 500 feet above the ground, and almost in the center of the original District of Columbia, one can survey almost its entire extent without a glass. It is a small State, though not so small as Athens or as Rome. It is smaller than any other political division of the United States, although it has more population than six of the States—Delaware, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, and Nevada—and than any of the Territories. It is not rich in money, as riches go to-day, though it is not poor, as riches went but yesterday. But it is wealthy in the common wealth of greatness, intellectual and spiritual, in good government, good society, outward beauty and inward grace, noble men and noble memories, and a glorious history. It stands supreme, far above the terrible waves of materialism, for intellectual and spiritual achievement, for high thinking and fine living, and for those ambitions which can not be satisfied with sordid gains or sensuous pleasures. Its voice sounds even above the clamor of the market places to remind us of men who were too busy to make money and too patriotic to seek selfish ends, and who gave to their country what other men gave to themselves. It tells the youth of the country that there is something better than selfishness, and summons them with the irresistible call of duty to the unselfish life of patriotic endeavor.

From the calm height of the Washington Monument men and things below appear in proper proportion; they are seen through the distance of space, as through the distance of time, and with the serene eye of history. True and relative values appear. We see, too, how out of all the wrongs and all the difficulties and all the dangers of the past, even through the mighty agonies of the civil war, the nation has been led constantly into a larger place and to better things.

Looking westward, up the beautiful reaches of the Potomac, curving toward the sunset, we remember that George Washington rode there, looking with the eye of the first great American expansionist

beyond the horizon, beyond the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies, to that promised land which he sought to have us occupy, and we remember how, step by step, in spite of all obstacles and all discouragement and all defeats, the idea of Washington has been carried out until his principles, represented by his flag, have been spread over the islands of the sea in the uttermost parts of the earth, far beyond his farthest dream. As we look to the southward, toward Mount Vernon, where he lived and died, and yet still lives, we think how his ideal of republican freedom, his example as a Revolutionary patriot, brought a score of republics into being south of us, and how his teachings made the United States the protector and the friend of every one of them, without making the United States the enemy of any other country. Then, when we turn to the eastern windows, looking out to the hills beyond which lies the Atlantic Ocean we see the influence of Washington and his example in the Republic of France, in the republican aspirations of other European countries, in the democracy which is the real government of Great Britain. We see his doctrine of peace keeping by arbitration, first set forth in treaty form under his direction by John Jay in the famous treaty with England, then denounced and since admired, enthroned at The Hague by all the world, and we see that his humane and enlightened maxims of government, national and international, once innovations are now commonplaces. Pessimism seems out of place, optimism seems natural, as we reflect in the city of Washington upon the achievements of the nation of Washington under the principles of Washington. Clouds cover the zenith, rain even falls from their darkness, but the sun, shining over Arlington, where lie men who died that the Republic might live, arches the Capitol with a glorious rainbow, beautiful reminder of the covenant of God with his people.

So, as we stand here in this "Rainbow City," looking out over our country and the world, facing the new occasions which have brought new duties, frankly admitting that with unsolved problems at home we must solve even great problems abroad, realizing that we have been brought with the suddenness and completeness of Providence into leadership among the nations, with all the responsibility and all the peril, as well as all the privileges and opportunities that it involves, we shall not be cowards who falter. We will not blink our shortcomings, our difficulties, or our dangers, but we will remember the wonderful way in which we have been brought through greater trials and tribulations and the good which we have been enabled to do for ourselves and for all mankind, even in the recent past—in China as in the dominions of the sea. We do not shut our eyes to the clouds and darkness over us or even to the rain falling upon us, but we see shining through it the rays of the sun of righteousness; we see beyond it the rainbow of the promises of God. We hear His voice saying to us, "Only do right, be strong and of good courage, go forward in the way of my commandment." We are persuaded that if we obey, in spite of everything that may oppose us, in spite of our own faintness and faults, we shall come off conquerors and more than conquerors through Him that hath loved us.

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